1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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An Orokaiva Youth wearing
Head-dress and *Hose*

[Frontispiece]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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(*a*) An Aiga Native

(*b*) A Wasida Native

(*c*) An Aiga Native

PLATE I [facing p. 6]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(a) A Woman of Wasida

(b) An Orokaiva Profile

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(c, d) Two Orokaiva Profiles

PLATE II [facing p. 10]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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the various natural resources of the bush would probably enable the native to tide over a period in which the taro gardens failed completely.

Such clothing as he wears is made by beating out the bark of a *ficus* tree; his belt is plaited with thin strips of cane; his pipe is a tube of bamboo; his cheeks are streaked with a red paint obtained from a seed; his ready-made luggage-strap or the mooring cable for his canoe is a creeper withe or a length of rattan cane. These are only a few of the uses to which the Orokaiva, true forest-dweller that he is, may put the multifarious products of his environment. One cannot fail to be impressed by his wonderful familiarity with the forest—so perplexing to one who is not a woodsman—and with his extempore skill and resource in turning all its products to account.

Wide areas of the plain—though still but a small proportion of its total extent—are covered with *alang alang*, or long grass. The apparent spread of these grass patches, and the corresponding deforestation have caused the Government some anxiety. As yet, however, this aspect of the matter has made no appeal to the native. The grass patch, entirely unproductive as it is, and almost invincible to cultivation, yet provides an annual supply of game when it is burnt off by the hunting party. It seems, indeed, as if the grass were regarded in the light of a special asset to its owners.

Fauna

Of the wild animals which these burnings drive into the nets of the hunters most important is *sus papuensis*, that fierce long-legged animal which abounds throughout Papua. But there is an unclassified multitude of marsupials ranging downwards in size from the wallaby, all of which are welcome to the Orokaiva, who despises no meat that comes his way. Of the tree-climbing marsupials the most notable is the cuscus, with beautifully dappled fur of white, yellow, and brown, which is cut into strips and worn in long streamers from the armlet of the warrior; and in the hills a larger animal, the tree-kangaroo, whose rich brown fur is used for the same purpose. Most beautiful of all is the

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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delicate little *Hajojo* which resembles a flying squirrel, and which makes the prettiest if not always the most docile of pets. There are many more bush creatures perfectly known to Papuan (if not so well to European) zoology, and all, while they serve the more utilitarian purpose of diet, are especially interesting because their names constantly recur in the Aesopian legends with which Orokaiva folk-lore abounds.

Reptiles are not less common than in other parts of the Territory. Snakes, from the python to the smallest and deadliest, are regarded with a queer mixture of feelings in which sometimes veneration, sometimes horror, and sometimes hunger gains the upper hand. The lizard is killed, its flesh dried in the smoke against some future feast, and its skin stretched over the drum as a tympanum. Crocodiles, the most terrible of the Papuan's natural enemies, abound near the river-mouths, and their attacks have sometimes been so frequent on village pigs and dogs and on women filling their gourds at the water's edge, that favourable settlements have had to be abandoned. Yet even the crocodile is often outwitted in the legends and occasionally caught and eaten in reality.

Flying-foxes or fruit-bats are numerous and destructive. From their camping-grounds, where they hang by day in lazy myriads from the branches, they steadily wing their way at evening to the gardens which they mean to plunder, and after this nocturnal migration may be seen steadily beating back at earliest daybreak. To the Orokaiva as to ourselves there is a hint of the spectral about the flying-fox, and it is not surprising that it should find a place in their legends and theories of the life after death.

Birds are of interest to the northern native mainly as providing the plumes which, fastened together in head-dresses, make him, as they are meant to do, more attractive in love and more terrifying in war. Thus parrots, kingfishers, and birds of paradise supply in their brilliant plumage one of the principal kinds of convertible wealth. The domestic cock is valued for the same reason, being mercilessly plucked and bereft of his sweeping tail feathers in

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order to serve the vanity of his owner. The great corrugated beak of the hornbill is valued as an ornament, and apparently in earlier times was an emblem of the homicide. The bird is frequently seen as a pet, being accommodated like the parrot or the white cockatoo in a little house of its own. Sometimes the young cassowary is domesticated, until as he grows up his aggressive manners and sharp claws make him an unmanageable member of village society, when he usually takes to the bush and rejoins his own kind. The cassowary is common in the hills though comparatively rare on the plains.

Even in so sketchy a list of the creatures which as friends or enemies share the habitat of the Orokaiva one should not fail to make a passing mention of the insects. It is well enough known that the most terrible predatory creature of Papua is the mosquito, and parts of the Northern Division, particularly the lower Mambare, deserve the bad reputation which it has given them. A magistrate wrote, I think without exaggeration, of this district:

> 'It is infested by multitudes of the most voracious mosquitoes, so that for that reason alone, one falls to wondering what could induce any one to live there. The native is not by any means immune to the bites of these pests. On my visits to these villages, I have seen the people sitting full in the acrid smoke of large wood fires, or beating their bodies with palm fronds, and they have complained to me that life is unbearable on account of the mosquitoes.' [1]

The scourge of mosquitoes has been bad enough to drive out whole village communities. Manau is said to have migrated from the present site of Bebewa, some distance up the river simply to escape them. Leaving behind the mosquitoes, however, the emigrants have established themselves in a region of countless sand-flies, and it is questionable whether their second state is not worse than their first. These infinitesimal insects (whose irritating bite is out of all proportion to their size) infest the brown sea-beaches of the north-east coast. But while they make life unbearable for a European it would seem as if the natives enjoy a certain amount of immunity from their poison.

[1] S. A. Greenland in *Annual Report*, 1912–13, p. 127.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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512 eat, made ready by some woman who has been at home during the forenoon, but, whether or no, the toilers will probably retire into their houses for the siesta.

512 513 If the day be warm there will be drowsiness in the village atmosphere and almost universal somnolence among its inhabitants for an hour or two after midday.

The Evening's Recreation

512 252 The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock. The women will soon begin peeling the taro, each seated on the ground before her own house. The diurnal grand repast is in preparation, and what with the peeling of vegetables and the cooking of them a housewife has perhaps an hour and a half of final work to do. Not that this is hard or unpleasant, but rather of a sociable nature, for little groups gather round the pot in which the taro is slowly seething under a covering of leaves. The men have risen from their rest and may foregather to chew betel or will sit before their respective houses renewing some sedentary task of yesterday—for such tasks may drag on unconscionably. [854] Often a man is content with the society of his immediate family, playing fondly with his younger children and carrying an infant in his arms.

512 301 302 883 Women and girls will go for water, and youths perhaps for firewood. Young bloods may appear, with a dash of paint on their cheeks and an ornament of boar's tusk or shell on their breasts. Their hair is glossy and greasy and their fine young figures set off with a sheen of coco-nut oil. In the most indirect manner and with a somewhat studied nonchalance they are, if the truth be known, bent on courtship, desiring principally to show off their masculine charms in those quarters where it suits them.

512 526 As the cool of the evening approaches the village grows more animated. If one game or another happens to be in vogue, youths of all ages will be boisterously engaged in it. The favourite games of the Orokaiva have something of war or chase about them. A number of players, with darts poised for throwing, stand in a kind of extended order while one boy bowls a disk-shaped section of banana stem along

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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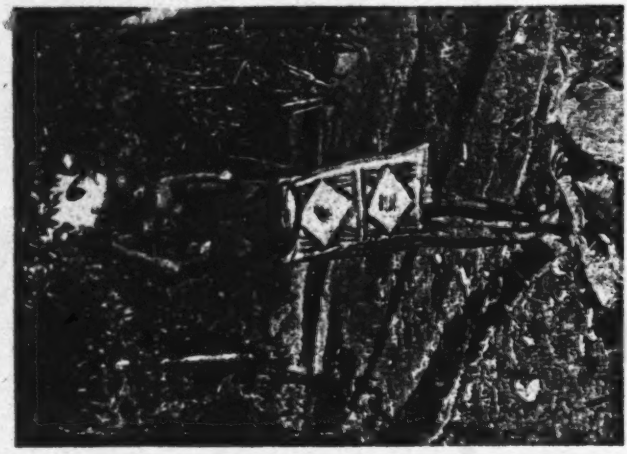

(b) Woman and child of Wasida

PLATE IV

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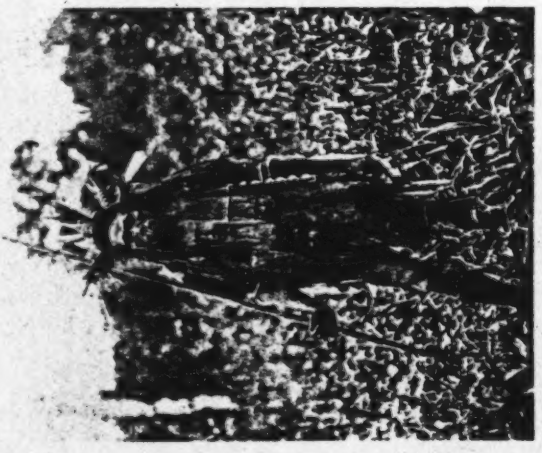

(a) A man of the River Gira

[facing p. 26]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

lead pencil which fall about his shoulders something in the manner of the Chief Justice's wig. Notwithstanding grease and dirt, it is a distinctly becoming mode, particularly when to the profusion of his locks he adds the tassels of red-dyed *kapiya*, the transparent skin that lines the inner side of the areca spathe. To an Orokaiva his hair is assuredly felt to be a crowning glory, though it is often far from being the well-trimmed and flowing mass that I have pictured. His head is sometimes scraggy and sometimes even bald—a state which is regarded with curious aversion and attributed to some early indiscretion or ceremonial neglect.

The hair is cut short in mourning, and sometimes as a last desperate measure to free it from lice. In the former case it is an example of the self-sacrifice or self-castigation which is so common in sorrow, though a man may allow himself a little decorative effect as compensation for the loss (*vide* concentric circles on Plate XXVII). Nowadays many wear their hair short for mere convenience.

A woman's hair is dressed in the same way as a man's while she is young, i.e. with tags and red streamers. At marriage she is likely, though not bound, to cut it short; and when she has borne a child or two she will certainly do so. This I am assured is a case of modesty: a matron does not care to masquerade as a 'flapper' (and the same reason is given for the fact that married women wear comparatively few ornaments). Some informants have also suggested that a husband does not care to see his wife make herself too attractive to other men, and others that a mass of long hair interferes with the carrying of the *eti*, or string bag for taro.

Natives are clean-shaven except for some old men and some who have allowed their beards to grow in mourning. The beard is never of very strong growth. Nowadays moustaches are commonly copied from the white man and especially affected by those who have served in the Armed Constabulary. Shaving is done with a glass fragment (formerly one of quartz); with twisted fibres; and by plucking out the hairs with a bivalve for tweezers.

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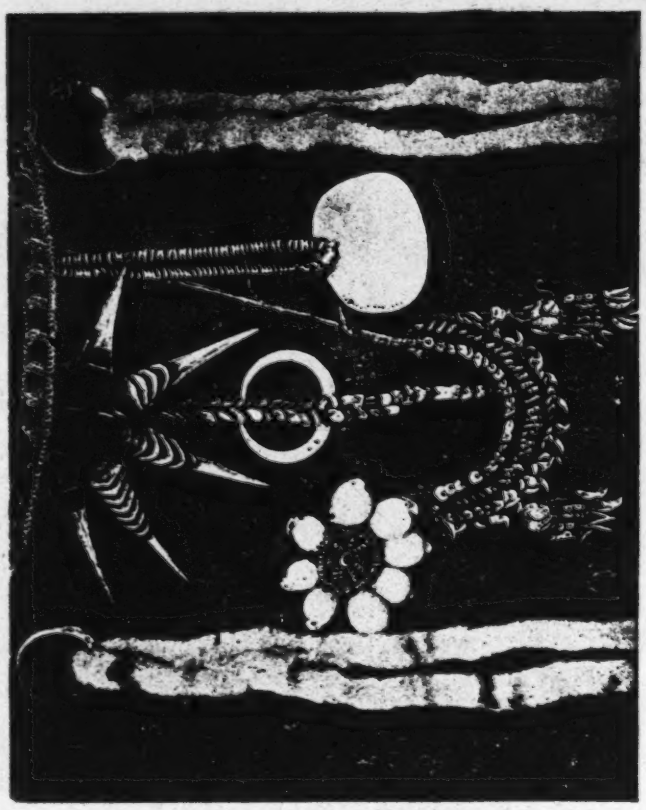

Hambe or Ornaments
PLATE VI

[facing P. 36]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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Feather Head-dresses

292 301 It cannot be denied that when the Orokaiva is in 'full dress' the *tout ensemble* is strikingly fine. We cannot claim that he has shown a great aptitude for the decorative arts in general, but he has shown no small amount of artistry in the decoration of his own person. The most imposing feature of his make-up is the head-dress of feathers. It is seldom worn complete save in the dance; in the warlike expedition (which I have never seen) it was no doubt considerably reduced.

The head-dress is built on piecemeal. The individual feathers are fixed in sets on arc-shaped frames, and one after another these sets are bound upon the mass of hair which is 292 301 gathered behind the head. The following is a description of a dancer's head-dress which may be taken as fairly typical. 237 (1) The lowest stratum was a mass of the black hair-like feathers of the cassowary which fell back over his shoulders like a great mane. (2) Above this came a number of sets of the large white tail-feathers of the hornbill; (3) a set of hawk's feathers, dapple grey; (4) three or four sweeping plumes of the red-brown bird of paradise; (5) and lastly, several tiers of close-set feathers obtained from the smaller and more brilliant birds such as parrots, &c.

As I have named the various parts of the head-dress from back to front, the first may be pictured as falling over the back and shoulders, the last, viz. the tiers of parrot feathers, as rising above the forehead. The whole is well set off by a band of shells and dogs' teeth encircling the brow.

Ornaments

301 321 The ornaments, or *hawks*, of the Orokaiva are by no means without a certain richness and beauty. They are made for the most part with boars' tusks, dogs' teeth, and various kinds of shell, which components are set together in some half-dozen bold patterns or styles. The mellow colours of old ivory, the white and rose of shell, and the vivid points of scarlet seed find an admirable foil in the native's brown skin. The *hawks*, it is true, are often dirty 301 enough to blind the fastidious to their artistic worth; but

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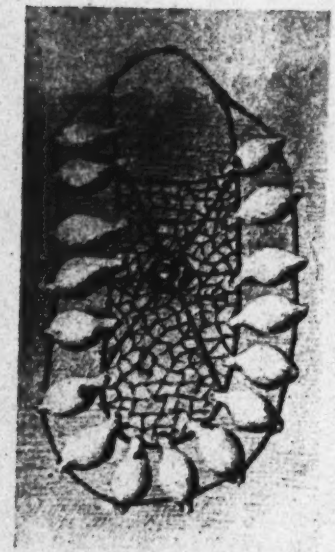

(a) *Eruwo*, about 18 in. long

(b) *Gwa*, about 8 in. by 7 in.

(c) *Hwa*, about 6 in. wide

PLATE VII [facing p. 38]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

as a little grime and age may add to the beauty of a building, so they probably add to the beauty of an Orokaiva ornament. It is certain that a newly-made ornament needs to be worn some time before it looks its best.

In the ensuing brief catalogue (which does not profess to be complete) the *hambo* are classified according to their use:

(1) *Teeth-held Ornaments.*

These are held in the teeth when dancing or fighting, and at other times are pendent on the breast. There is always some small appendage at the back of the ornament for the teeth to grip.

Hono (Plate VII). Two pig tusks forming a circle and supported by strings of irregular shell slabs. The latter (*ori*) show rich colours of red, salmon, and brown.

Huave. This ornament is similar to *hono* but instead of the pig tusks has two circles of white shell (giant clam), about three inches in diameter. It is supported by a string of *ori*.

Gana (Plate VII). A symmetrical arrangement of smaller pig tusks branching outwards from two main *rami*. It is thickly studded with red seeds, or nowadays often embroidered with trade beads. When held in the teeth at the lower junction of the two *rami*, the ornament forms a frame for the dancer's face.

Jauro or *Pako*. A circle, sometimes seven inches and more in diameter, cut out of the melon shell. It is white in colour and concave, somewhat resembling a china saucer. The couples in the ballet, each man holding one of these in his teeth, will clash them together as they dance. They are held by means of a string passed through two holes in the shell.

Erumo (Plate VII). *Ovulum* shells, called *Erumo*, are usually attached to a cane framework which, when not held in the teeth, is slung over the shoulder. The inner part of this frame may be netted. Another kind of *erumo* ornament is shown on Plate VI.

(2) *Forehead Ornaments.*

Peremo, the Hornbill Beak. The corrugated beaks of the hornbill are arranged on a frame so as to form a halo of

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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spikes about the head. The use of this—as well as other *bambo*—for homicidal *insignia* will be referred to later (*vide* pp. 178 ff.).

Forehead Bands. These are composed in the main of the oblong shell slabs, red-brown in colour, known as *ori*, or of the small red shell disks called *pore* (commonly known in the Territory as *sapsap*). They are bordered with the minute white shells (*saima*), or with dogs' teeth (*bati*). Rosettes of the latter may be fixed at either end of the band.

Forehead bands are of great variety and beauty, and commonly figure as the ceremonial gift or *otohu* (*vide* p. 188). The example pictured in Plate VIII (*a*) (*Nanemo*) is only a dingy and disreputable specimen which happened to be at hand. It shows the shell slabs *ori* bordered with the small white shells *saima*. Plate VIII (*b*) shows a somewhat different style, viz. a tiara of white shell and cassowary feathers. I have not recorded its name.

FIG. 1. *Mekia.*

(3) *Nose Ornaments.*

The usual nose-bone is a plain spike of white shell. Another style, which is found especially among the Binandele, is figured. It hangs from the septum over the lips. Known as *mekia*, this ornament has been aptly described as 'magnet-shaped'. It is not affected by younger men.

(4) *Ear Ornaments.*

The common form is a small plain ring of tortoise-shell, or sometimes a series or bunch of them. The elaborate pendant shown in Plate IX (*a*) is, however, frequently seen. From a small pearl shell are suspended strings of shell fragments, dogs' teeth, a black banana seed known as *supi*, &c.

(5) *Necklets.*

These are of dogs' teeth or shell; frequently of the small white variety called *saima*. The large black seed *supi* forms a heavy but rather handsome necklet.

(6) *Armlets, &c.*

Two kinds of armlets are fairly distinctive of the Oro-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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kaiva. One is *samemi*, the narrow pearl-shell circle obtained from the trochus; the other is *siba*, the circle of coco-nut shell. Armlets of plaited cane or fern fibre are also common.

The skin of cuscus (*pauri*, *koviro*) may be attached to the armlets in the form of long streamers on which tufts of feathers may be tied at intervals. (The tanning of the skin is done, I am told, by powdering with red ochre or lime.)

(7) *Belts.*

These are mostly of plaited cane strips, sometimes with simple patterns made by introducing a darker material. The commonest of these patterns is shown on Plate IX (*b*).

Examples of finer texture are plaited with the strands of a creeper called *angoro*. A belt of another kind is made from the creeper named *sita*. Strands of this are plaited into a fine rope, black in colour, bearing a polish, which passes round the hips in multitudinous coils. The creeper is obtained only in the hills and is highly valued.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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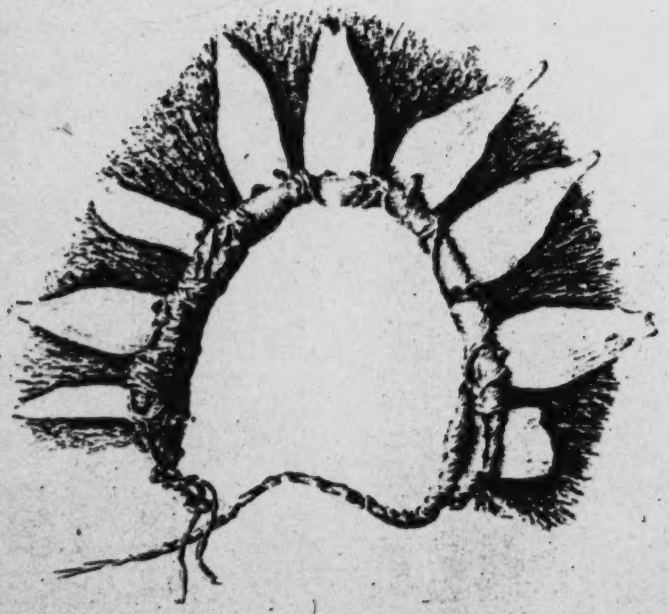
(*a*) *Nauwo*, about 18 in. long



(*b*) Forehead Ornament of white shell and Cassowary plumes

PLATE VIII [facing p. 42]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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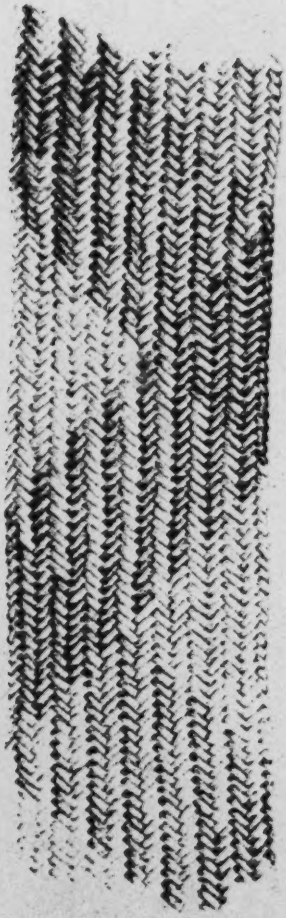

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(*a*) *Dende* or ear-pendant (*b*) Belt of plaited cane

PLATE IX [facing p. 44]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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Boy Playing the Pipe, *Hiviro*

PLATE XX [facing p.86]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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Among the Aiga and the River People, where the bull-roarer and the sacred flute are unknown, it seems that the place of this initiation ceremony is in some degree taken by the mime or drama. In this drama the initiate may play a minor part, and he is brought into contact with an impersonation of the dead.

After the initiation, or the dramatic performance which takes the place of an initiation, there follows a seclusion of some months. At the termination of the seclusion the initiates make a formal début, and are presented with certain gifts, consisting principally of feather head-dresses, to which is given the general name *kokumbari*. The word means literally 'decoration', and the ceremony amounts to a formal investiture which is necessary before a boy or a girl is entitled to wear a head-dress.

Another kind of gift is often made on the occasion of the *kokumbari*. This is known as *otobu*, and consists of a specially valuable and distinctive ornament or object which the candidate is thenceforward permitted to use. Its possession involves certain ethical obligations, and formerly in some cases it constituted a distinctive ornament of the homicide. The bestowal of the *otobu* may be reserved for a subsequent occasion, but in the majority of instances it appears that the moment of the début is regarded as favourable for the presentation. I shall therefore deal with the *otobu* as if it formed an integral part of what we might term the initiation cycle. Various precautionary or cleansing rites, principal among them being the eating of a ceremonial stew called *suna*, bring the cycle to a close.

To summarize on the matters of initiation and seclusion it will be seen that there is a series of distinct episodes, viz. (1) initiation to the bull-roarer and the sacred flutes (or among the northern Orokaiva the mime or drama which probably takes the place of initiation); (2) seclusion; (3) début with the *kokumbari* or decoration; and (4) presentation of the *otobu*. The whole cycle concludes (5) with the eating of a purificatory stew called *suna*.

The above summary disregards one or two minor differences between tribes as to the sequence of the episodes.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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(*a*) A Bride with part of the Bride-price

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(*b*) Preparations for handing over the Bride-price

PLATE XXII [facing p. 140]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

slightly from that of Chinnery and Beaver,[1] but principally by a slight amplification. I have divided their Dobodura tribe into three, Sauaha, Sangara, and Dirou; and I have given the name Jeva-Buje to that branch of the Binandele inhabiting the lower Kumusi. By the addition of minor tribal names, such as are mentioned on p. 151, the matter would be complicated and not helped.

In one instance, that of Sauaha (and perhaps we might say in another, that of the Binandele and the Jeva-Buje), the tribal territory is not continuous, but in the others there is a fairly well-defined local spirit which belongs to a solid block of territory. This local spirit, which was in evidence among the clans (*vide* p. 107), is certainly of some moment. It is probably the principal motive behind the minor tribal groups and the temporary clan confederacies within the tribe. When, for instance, a number of clans band together to support one of their number in a semi-warlike dispute, it is, I have been told, because they are *pusu tahavo*, 'one ground', and, therefore, natural allies.

Although the boundaries on the map make it appear that the tribal territories are coterminous, there is commonly a no-man's-land of greater or less extent. This is particularly marked in the case of the Aiga, who (while in close touch with the Jeva-Buje) are separated from their other neighbours on north, east, and west by a good half-day's journey through virtually uninhabited country. In the more densely populated southern end of the division this territorial isolation is not so complete.

(2) Certain tribal peculiarities have been spoken of already in Chapter I. On the whole we may wonder at their absence rather than their presence. It is sometimes possible to distinguish men of different tribes merely by differences in their dress and ornaments. The Binandele commonly wear the bark-cloth perineal band with the end tied in a knot at the belt; the bush people in general have it suspended as an apron. The Aiga are said to be fond of the streamers of thin betel-palm spathe attached to the tags of their hair. The Tain-Daware and other coastal people especially affect

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914-15, p. 161.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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619 the *buave*, a breast ornament of two circles of white shell.
184 When Totoima's sister split up the people into tribes she
301 allotted them various distinctive ornaments. To the Sauaha she gave the black feathers of the hornbill; to the Sangara the red feathers of *Ungaiavo*, *Orero*, and *Samba*; to the Aiga red-dyed betel spathe, *saima* (or small white cowrie) shells, and dog's teeth; and to the Yega the *tava* or palm-wood digging stick. The legend, of course, merely indicates that the men of these tribes show a modern preference for the articles named.

773 But these fashions are by no means exclusive, and perhaps
829 the distinctions are little more real than those peculiarities
619 of temper which are said to have come into being when the various peoples feasted on Totoima's body. In a version of the story given by an old Yema man the participants in the feast were mostly Waria people: the Bia and Mawai had eaten his legs, and were consequently speedy runners; the Yema themselves had eaten his entrails, and were therefore subject to stomachic disturbances which were the direct cause of a fierce temper; the Ono (?) had eaten his genitalia, and were highly erotic; the Jia had eaten froth or saliva, and therefore their language was unintelligible; the Gilita (who formerly occupied the present Binandele territory) had eaten his spleen, and were sullen men who used their spears more readily than their tongues; and the Berepo (i.e. the Aiga and other bush people of the Orokaiva) had eaten his head and mouth, and were therefore 'strong talkers', quarrelsome and abusive.[1]

773 (3) The eating of Totoima's body is generally made to
619 account for nothing more than differences of dialect. There is a remarkable insistence in many renderings of the story upon the bubbles (*boro*), i.e. of froth, saliva, or grease, which in a manner not easily understood arose from the monster's body before or during cooking. In one version the refugees came flocking in when they heard of Totoima's death, and when they found him roasting or basting on the hot stones they fell to and lapped up the bubbles of scalding grease.

[1] In Wasida the story of Totoima is told of one Kokowaiko. *Vide* Chinnery and Beaver, *loc. cit.*, p. 161.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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modated over night, but in the early morning while sitting at their breakfast they were set upon and killed to a man. In comparatively recent times a party of five Waria men, having made peace with the Government, thought it safe to visit their Yema neighbours on the Gira. They were sitting about a dish of stew when five Yema men, having been methodically told off to their respective tasks, fell upon the five unsuspecting visitors and clubbed them to death.[1] It would seem indeed that these peace embassies miscarried somewhat frequently. W. N. Beaver noted that the particular homicidal ornament called *Horu* was 'a croton worn in the hair by a man who had killed a peace herald'.[2]

Resistance against the Whites

It is sometimes suggested that Papuan natives in general are cowardly, or at least that they do not care to stand up to one another in pitched battle. It is true that when bent on securing victims they are content with the easiest they can find; and that in most of the engagements of which we hear, one side is surprised, hopelessly outnumbered, put to flight, and massacred. It is certain, however, that when armed with their shields the Orokaiva will fight man to man with the greatest skill and address, and, I am prepared to believe, with the greatest daring. Even the way in which they deal with the perils of their environment should be sufficient to refute any suspicion of cowardice; and any fear they may have had of the white intruder is surely excused by the facts that the white man was to them nothing short of a supernatural marvel and that he possessed irresistible means of killing.

But the truth is that they resisted the Government and the miners with a determination that we can now only admire, and that they sometimes fought against armed police with astonishing fury and recklessness. Many instances in the *Annual Reports* from 1895 to 1901 show the native as a brave fighter, but none perhaps surpass that in which Mr. de

[1] For this one man Poivo was given six months in Port Moresby. To his first child born after his return he gave the name Garuma (stone) because he had been engaged in cracking stones in goal.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 58.

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tion against the latter's avenging spirit or *diroga*. As we shall see, the Orokaiva dreads the spirits of the dead, whether slain in fight or dying in peace, and it may be that the tabus and observances which are customary with the man-slayer are in the nature of precautions against the spirit (*asisi* or *diroga*) of his victim. It may also be that by adopting the latter's name the slayer hopes to make himself invulnerable, because the dead would not assail the man who now bore his own name. This explanation, however, is merely a suggestion, and even if it be true, it is certainly not explicit in the native mind. Somewhat against it are the facts that a slayer of many men is known by the name of only one of them; that a man does not take a female victim's name; and that in an inter-clan fight the names of the slain were not taken at all. On the whole it seems that we must discard the tempting explanation (viz. that the adoption of the name is a precautionary measure against the spirit of the slain), and fall back on the simpler statement of the native, that it is in the nature of a distinction.

Homicidal Insignia

There is another kind of distinction, viz. the wearing of certain ornaments, &c., which may be described as homicidal insignia. To these is given the general name *otobu*, or the specific name of *esa*. The latter will be found more satisfactory here. The subject of these insignia among the Orokaiva is not so straightforward as we might expect, owing to the fact—a happy one from all points of view save the present—that homicide has long gone out of fashion, or at least no longer bears an honorific implication, so that the customs connected with it cannot be studied directly. The best written on the subject is found in the admirable article by the late W. N. Beaver in the *Annual Report*, 1918–19, pp. 96–9.

The source of confusion is in the fact that *otobu* ornaments are also given in connexion with initiation, where they certainly do not imply that the recipient has been a man-slayer. The concrete fact that they are given to girls as well as to boys or men is enough to prove this. Beaver

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made a distinction between homicidal *otohu* and 'pig-*otohu*', the former being conditioned by the killing of a man, the latter virtually bought with a pig. My own inquiries confirm this distinction, though I would attach more importance to the latter class than he does, and would prefer to state the matter thus, that the *esa*, or homicidal insignia, are a special class of *otohu*. The general subject of *otohu* will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the meantime it appears that the man-slayer, having undergone the forms of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient date receive his *otohu*, or, as I shall call it, *qua* homicidal insigne, his *esa*. I say 'might' because some of the older informants have assured me that an *esa* was not given invariably. Moreover, it seems that certain ornaments, which are rightly enough *otohu*, have been too freely regarded as *esa*, i.e. as implying that their possessor must be a homicide. My own inquiries have led me to believe that the variety of homicidal insignia was very limited. Beaver has given two lists, one for the coastal and central tribes and one for the Wasida and the trans-Kumusi. The first is of eight, and the second of twelve alternative ornaments or objects.[1] (It will be understood that the River People in the north observe similar customs and use similar *esa*.) I do not repeat these in full, but draw attention to several of the more striking. It seems likely that Nos. 1 and 2 (the hornbill beaks and the cuscus fur) were exclusive homicidal insignia or *esa* proper, i.e. they could be worn only by man-slayers. But save for these two, and possibly though doubtfully for the other three mentioned with them, I am led to believe that the long list of ornaments given by Beaver, as well as many others mentioned by native informants, were presented just as readily to the peaceful initiate as to the successful warrior.

1. *Peremo*: hornbill beaks arranged in a semicircle with points outward and worn on the forehead.
2. *Siropu*, *Koviro*, *Bauri*: different varieties of cuscus. Strips of the furry skin with small bunches of feathers tied at intervals are worn as streamers from the armlets or the club.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1918–19, pp. 97, 98.

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3. *Gana*: an ornament formed of pig-tusks, suspended over the breast, or held in the teeth.
4. *Bati-ananya*: a forehead band of shell slabs and dogs' teeth, terminating on either side in a rosette of dogs' teeth.
5. *Ki-overo*: a spear decorated with tufts of coloured feathers.

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Beaver has given some interesting hints as to the symbolism of various *esa*. For example, the *Bati-ananya* symbolizes 'the clawing hands and grinning teeth of the dead'. Again, 'simba—a head-dress of dogs' teeth, "sapi sapi" shells and beads, symbolical of the head smashed in by the stone club (?)'. The interrogation mark in the latter case makes it appear as if the writer did not entirely trust his informant, and while such symbolic interpretations are worth recording, we may well doubt whether they are the generally accepted interpretations, or, indeed, whether any general interpretation exists. It is not impossible that the above meanings are the extempore creations of imaginative informants reading their own meaning into the object on the spur of the moment; and I dare say that if we sought them we could discover a variety of symbolic interpretations for any one *esa*.

In the normal instance the *esa* will be provided by the father of the slayer, but the actual bestowal or investiture will be performed by some old warrior of renown who has made many victims of his own. After this ceremony the same old warrior will paint the face of the young slayer.

The main purpose of the *esa* is apparently honorific. To the Orokaiva it is, or was, an ambition to kill a man, and the man-slayer was in a manner lionized. When a warrior who already had a victim to his credit held an enemy at his mercy, he might forbear out of generosity and call on another to administer the finishing blow, and so earn the right of wearing what to an Orokaiva was perhaps the proudest possible distinction.

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881 The internees must avoid being seen by people of the village—in particular, it would seem, by their own fathers
784 and mothers. Sexual intercourse is prohibited. Chinnery and Beaver speak of other tabus: 'Should a boy happen to talk over loudly, one of the guardians would say, "Be silent, I will thrust a spear through the floor". Should a boy happen to drop taro through the floor, he would be killed.' This latter penalty is, of course, no longer inflicted in these slip-shod days, and personally I am very doubtful whether such severity could ever have amounted to a rule.

Début and Decoration

881 The initiate is not called an *ehamei* (or *meiha*), i.e. a 'new child', until he or she has terminated the seclusion and made a formal début. This is a spectacular occasion, the main purpose of which is perhaps to do honour to the initiate. It is signalized by the youth's first appearance in the feather head-dress, which thenceforward he is entitled to wear. Hitherto it has been strictly forbidden him, so much so that I have known a serious quarrel between two men resulting from the fact that one of them had given feathers to the other's younger brother before the right to wear them had been formally granted. The following description is drawn mainly from a ceremony which I witnessed near Divina Kovari in the Hunjovarehu country.

On the day of their formal reappearance the initiates, who have remained unwashed during their long internment, are taken down to bathe at early morning. They then gather
881 in the bush beyond sight and earshot of the village, and in
302 this sylvan tiring-room undergo the lengthy and laborious
301 process of being decorated. Each sits on a mat and places himself entirely in the hands of the man who is dressing him. There are many others watching or helping: with a party of twelve youths and four girls at Divina Kovari, there must have been seventy or eighty onlookers. The tails of hair which have grown long during seclusion have red streamers tied to their extremities. In the middle they are gathered tightly together and bound with bark-cloth, so as to form a base for the mass of feathers which is to be tied on to the

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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initiate's head. This decoration consists not only of feather-sets but of shell and ivory ornaments, particularly strings of dogs' teeth wound round and round the bunch of hair. One boy, when I saw him submitting patiently to the ministrations of his attendant, already had nine strings of dogs' teeth round his hair at the back, each consisting of perhaps 150 teeth, and he was then waiting for more. It will be easily imagined that the weight of this portentous mass of feathers and ornaments is very considerable, and as the process of decorating lasted some hours the eyes of their wearers were already blinking with fatigue at this early stage of the day. Oppressed either with the weight or the magnificence of their headdresses, they held their heads as still as possible or moved them stiffly, like a man unaccustomed to an evening shirt.

I have been assured that it is the function of the *nobo*, or maternal uncle, to present the *kokumbari*, for which he receives payment from the initiate's father in the form of a pig, and from his mother in the form of a pot (*obu*), a wooden bowl (*teva*), a water calabash, a *bo*, a netted bag (*eti*), a fish-net (*eutu*), and a spear. But, as so often in the case of such rules, we find on looking into the matter that other relatives may equally well perform the function. Thus in the present instance I recorded more cases where the *kokumbari* was given by the paternal uncle than where it was given by the maternal uncle. In other cases, again, it was given by the elder brother. On the whole, however, it may be regarded as proper for the *nobo* to give the *kokumbari*, as I have also heard that it is proper for him to attend to the initiate during his seclusion. But neither of these rules is observed with strictness.

While the decoration of the initiates is going forward, guests are arriving in the village. On such occasions it is the custom, not for the hosts, but for the guests, to perform a dance. (On a future occasion the invitation will be returned, and the hosts in the present instance will then be the performers.) In the ceremony at Divina Kovari two such parties of dancers arrived, one before and one after the formal entry of the decorated initiates. It is not necessary

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(*a*) Formal appearance of the Initiates

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(*b*) Initiates wearing *Kokuvhari* feathers

PLATE XXV Facing p.188

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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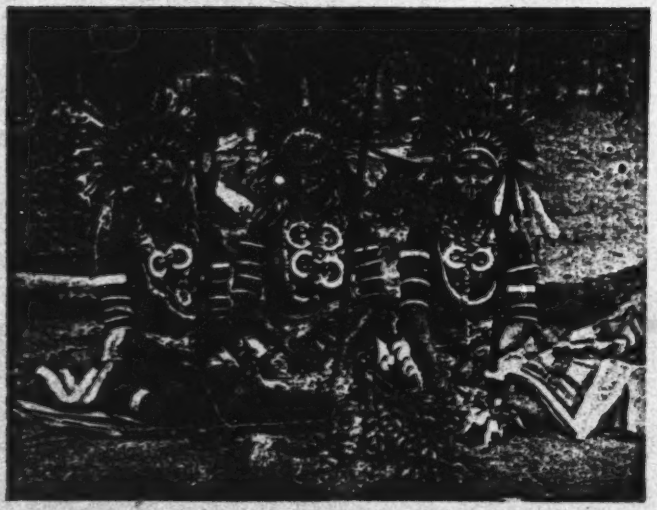
(*a*) Eating the *Suna*



(*b*) Girls newly emerged from Puberty Seclusion

PLATE XXVI [facing p. 194]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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belief seem with the native to merge into one another: they are too near extremes between which he may be said to shilly-shally. Therefore, when the time comes to be done with the ceremony for good and all, he takes the precaution of removing by a final purificatory rite all possible influences for evil which the *embabi* may have left in the initiates. The same explanation, it may be noted, is offered for the various rites, including the *suna*, observed by the man-slayer, who must rid himself of the peculiarly malignant spirit of the man he has slain.

The Otobu. It remains now to say something further of the *otobu*. I have already referred to the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*, in Chapter XI, and described the rites observed in the bestowal of the ordinary *otobu* in the present chapter. It is now our task to consider the meaning—or the various meanings—of the word. The *otobu* may for the present be defined as one of a number of distinctive ornaments or objects which, at a price, are ceremonially bestowed, and which the recipient is thenceforward entitled to wear or use. It will be understood that any one who was, so to speak, masquerading with an *otobu* would be exposed to obloquy or ridicule. In earlier days it is doubtful whether any man would have had the hardihood or folly to attempt it. Where, therefore, one sees a man holding a highly ornamented lime gourd with a shell mouth-piece, or a string bag decorated with dogs' teeth, or wearing cuscus streamers tied at intervals with bunches of feathers, it may be concluded that he has paid the price for them (or probably that the price has been paid in his behalf) and that he is fully entitled to their use.

There is a considerable variety of these ceremonial objects, e.g. a specially ornamented *bo* or string bag (*eti* or *betava*), decorated spears or stone clubs, bone forks for eating, lime-pots, belts embroidered with *saima* shells or made of black creeper cord, cuscus streamers, &c. More commonly they take the form of ornaments (*bambo*) for the breast or forehead—hornbill beaks set in a half-circle, *gana*, *huave*, *bono*, and the like (*vide* p. 39). They are always fine examples of their kind, and in some cases are extremely

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ornate, with pendants and rosettes of dogs' teeth and scarlet seeds. They do not take the form of feather head-dresses, which constitute what I have throughout called the *kokumbari*. It will be understood, though, that the word *kokumbari* means literally 'decorate', and might correctly be applied to the *otobu*. A distinction is sometimes drawn between *di-kokumbari* (bird or feather decoration) and *bambo-kokumbari* (ornament decoration), the latter, of course, meaning the *otobu*. However, I shall continue to restrict the word '*kokumbari*' to the feather decorations which every initiate receives, and which are, as it were, cheaper than the *otobu*.

I have been assured that, whereas the *kokumbari* is given properly by the *nobo*, the *otobu* is given by the *mama* (not the actual father, but one of the paternal uncles); but we find that the latter rule, like the former, will not come well out of the wash. It is customary, of course, for the candidate's parents to supply the pig which is the price of the *otobu*. (In some cases he does so himself.) The father will bespeak the services of some other—a craftsman—to make the actual ornament, and this man (the *otobu-embo*) is called upon as much for his skill and artistry as for any special relationship he bears to the boy. Among twenty-one cases it appeared that the *otobu-embo* was *mama* to the candidate in nine (in one of them he was the real father), *nobo* in six, *bitepemi* in three, *nabori* in one, *abije* (grandfather) in one, and in the last he was of no recognized relationship but merely *otavo*, or friend, to the candidate's father.

There is no actual social necessity for every man to receive an *otobu*, though it seems probable that at some time or other nearly every one does. And these further points are significant, that one person may receive a number of them at different times, and that he may receive them at any age.

The usual occasion for presenting them is at the *kokumbari* ceremony in which the recipients are sometimes quite young children who are still a long way from puberty. Again, as we have seen, the *otobu* may be given to the man-slayer (though this is not absolutely invariable). But it appears further that an opportunity for bestowing an *otobu* might be made at any and every ceremony. Thus, for in-

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stance, at a dance in Petakiari, when a widow ceremonially discarded her mourning jacket of *baja*, or Job's Tears, she was presented with an *otobu* in the form of a specially decorated *bo*, and this with all the usual formalities.

In view of these facts we may regard the *otobu* as embodying a social distinction. It implies that its owner has paid a pig, or that it has been paid in his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired. Further, to the native who loves ostentation the *otobu* is worth having for its own sake, apart from any social distinction it may connote: it is a fine thing, for instance, to wear a 'magnet-shaped' shell ornament (*mendo*) passed through one's nose-hole and dangling somewhat awkwardly in front of one's lips, or to sit and rattle one's spatula noisily in the shell mouth-piece of an *otobu* lime-pot. In short the *otobu* has both honorific and decorative value.

It would seem that in Orokaiva custom as we find it there is no very essential difference between the 'pig *otobu*' and the 'man *otobu*',[1] or *esa*. They are of the same nature, but one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. As we have seen, a victim's body may be used alternatively with that of a pig to satisfy social obligations, as, e.g., in the matter of a bride-price. It is therefore likely that a man who had a corpse at his disposal might equally acquire an *otobu* with it, and in this view it would appear that the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*, was less an *insigne* conferred, *causa honoris*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otobu* purchased with the body of his victim.

Against this view, however, are the facts that certain of the *otobu* ornaments assuredly do stand more or less distinctively as homicidal insignia, and that in conferring an *otobu* a warrior of renown always recites his past conquests and sometimes calls upon the candidates to follow his martial example. These facts may hint that all *otobu* were originally dependant upon the slaying of a man, the pig *otobu* being nothing more than a poor and unromantic sub-

[1] See p. 178; also Beaver, 'Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 98.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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301 554 727 stitute. If such be the case, however, the change must have taken place or the substitution have been allowed in the very distant past, for we find that the well-established custom of the Orokaiva was to grant *otohu* both for human corpses and for pigs, and not only to man-slayers, but to boys, women, and young girls. So that an *otohu* together with the social *éclat* and dignity which its possession implies, is not only for the man-slayer but is within the reach of every one.

301 554 196 But the *otohu* with its social distinction may involve some social obligation. And this brings us to a discussion on the meaning of the word, which proves indeed a rather baffling subject. Beaver (who uses the Binandele form of the word, viz. *kotopu* or *Kortopo*) has said: 'I am not altogether clear whether the word "Kortopo" is strictly applicable to the act, the ceremony, the thing, the donor, the recipient, or to all of them, and, in describing the ceremony, therefore, the word may be used rather loosely. The Anglican Mission uses the word in the Binandele language to translate our "set apart", and therefore "holy". The sense, I gathered from my informants, was that of "superman", and indeed it is no great tax on the mind to connect the two.'[1]

While I would not deny that both these meanings may attach to the word, I still have not met them in my own inquiries. The only time I heard anything approaching the meaning 'superman' was when an Orokaiva, who had settled in another part of the Territory, gave *kotopu* as the equivalent in his language for 'chief'. The meaning of 'set apart' or 'holy' perhaps comes nearer to the results of my own questioning.

Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate 'well-behaved' in the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest equivalent in our language would be 'decent' or 'respectable'. The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was *otohu* or *otohu-embo* who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who did not steal. According to one informant, an *otohu* man

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 98.

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was he who went about his work quietly, who returned from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, and then chewed his betel without 'rowing'. Diligence bears some part in this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity: an *otohu-embo*, I was assured, would never refuse a request for tobacco. But it is on the negative virtues of respectability that the greater stress is laid.

Now I am bound to think that this concept of *otohu* as a good character bears directly on the instructions which the *aguma* gives the initiate at the bestowal of the *otohu* ornament. I have heard a number of versions of these instructions: the youth is adjured not to quarrel or brawl, not to steal, not to commit adultery. He is told to be diligent in the garden, in hunting, and in fishing; and to be generous and helpful, never refusing to fetch wood and water, or to give betel-nut to his friend. So a woman is told to lend an ear to what her husband says, and never give him 'strong talk' in return; to accompany him wherever he goes; to be faithful to him; and to keep her hands off other women's property.

It is at the actual presentation of the *otohu* ornament that these injunctions are laid upon the youth or the girl, and thenceforward, it appears, the initiate must live up to the *otohu* character. I have been told that a man might refuse to enter into a quarrel, saying, No, I am an *otohu-embo*; whereas one who had never received the *otohu* would grow up bad-tempered and a ne'er-do-well.

We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an *otohu* does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.

I would not claim that this meaning, viz. decent or amenable to society, was necessarily the basic meaning of *otohu*. I should think rather that the name belonged in the first place to the concrete object or ornament, and that it came to be used for the negative virtues of respectability because those virtues were impressed upon the youth when the ornament was given him.

I am quite unable to offer any useful conjecture as to the

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301 554 196 derivation of the word. It was observed that *otohu* was the name given to the 'male' flute at Wasida, though this seems to throws no light on its meaning. More interesting perhaps is the fact that among the Baruga, southern neighbours to the Orokaiva, *kotopo* means a clan badge; and that this badge commonly takes the form of some arrangement of white ovulum shells which are presented to the initiates (fixed to their arms or legs) when they emerge from seclusion. It is not impossible that the Orokaiva *otohu* (or *kotopo*) —although it has no clan significance—should have been originally identical with the clan badge of the Baruga.

Girls' Puberty Seclusion

881 The puberty seclusion of girlhood together with the formal ceremony of emergence may be treated separately, although they are in principle similar to the initiatory seclusion and the début which have been described in the foregoing pages. This last section should be regarded as an appendix to the present chapter.

[841] As explained on p. 184, the girl enters seclusion directly her first menses appear. After a term of varying length she makes a début similar to that of the initiates and receives her *kokumbari* or feather decorations. She may be content with this, marry, and never pass through her initiation. But very commonly she will qualify for initiation and an *otohu*, and this will necessitate a second seclusion among the initiates. It is the first, or puberty initiation, which I shall now briefly describe.

The girl is confined in a specially constructed compartment of the house. I have cases in which this was variously the house of her father, her maternal uncle, and her husband's father (for a girl may go to the house of her husband's father before she has reached the age of puberty). She is commonly confined alone, though, if by a happy coincidence several girls in the neighbourhood reach this point of development at about the same time, it will be arranged that they come down out of their seclusion on one and the same occasion. It thus happens that the duration of their confinement varies considerably, one girl having to wait for another.

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765 292 [302] the distribution of this latter custom, but it is not practised among the Aiga or the Binandele.)) The *baja* jacket is worn also by the widower, and various relatives of the deceased bear Job's Tears about their persons as a sign of mourning, sometimes in the form of jackets, sometimes merely as [301] armlets or neck ornaments. The seeds appear to be of two varieties, pale grey or fawn, and with the addition of red and black seeds the *baja* jacket may be very effectively decorated. Except in the case of the widow, it appears that the *baja* may be put off at will: a man will wear it when he 'walks about', and doff it when he works. It is, in fact, rather in the nature of an ornament than of sack-cloth and ashes. However, I have been informed—quite gratuitously—that the *asisi* of the dead is in some manner immanent in the *baja*.

The hood (*pobu*) is either of bark-cloth or of netted string, in either case thickly embroidered with the seeds. A fish-net may be used for the purpose, or the *betava*, i.e. string bag, which belonged to the dead man, and which now figures as a memento.[1]

765 301 There are many minor indications of mourning. A woman will wear mementoes of her husband such as a thick necklet made from his *bo* rolled as if into a rope and covered with *baja*, or a series of pendants—a fragment of the pot in which his food was cooked, a chip of the tree he chopped, his coco-nut spoon, his leglet, a tuft of his hair; and a widower may wear his late wife's taro peeler or her bodkin of flying-fox bone. A recognized symbol of mourning is a necklet of large white beads formed of cooked taro which has hardened. A man will wear a beard and cut his hair 765 short in mourning. Both these practices are in the nature of 302 self-castigation, for the Orokaiva fancy a glabrous beauty, and if a man have long head-hair it is felt to be a glory. In one case (to which I have previously drawn attention)

[1] An interesting mark of mourning is the *rawi* or skirt of palm leaf. This is by no means universal, but is found in the Dirou tribe (where it is of coco-nut), and among the people of the lower Opi (where it is of pandanus). In regard to the latter people, it is said that the women of an earlier population, associated with a semi-mythical character, Bubugarere, all wore palm-leaf skirts; but that they dispersed, some to the north and some to the south, so that nowadays these skirts are to be seen on the one hand on the river Waria and on the other about Cape Nelson.

1:Williams E.G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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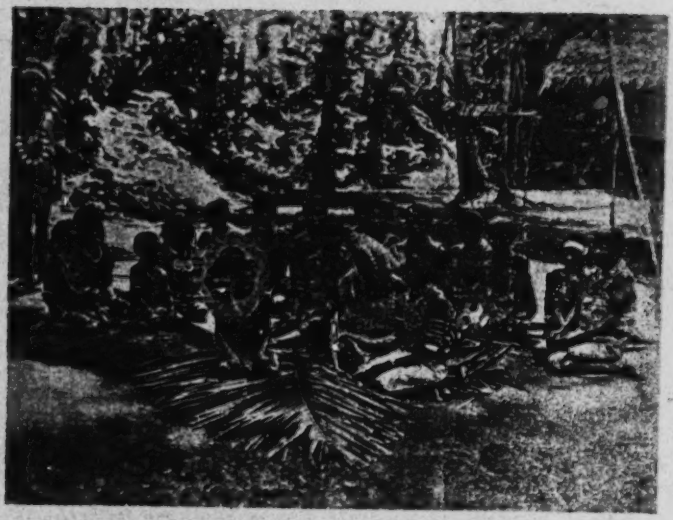

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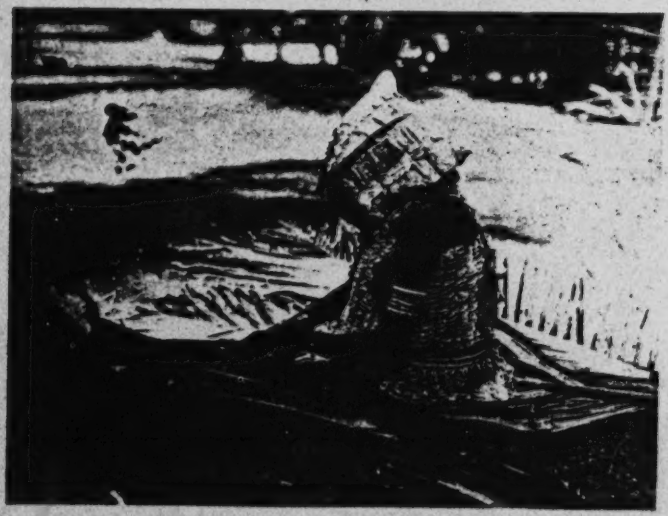
(*a*) The Widow sitting among her attendants



(*b*) The Widow, showing *Baja* jacket and *Pabu*

PLATE XXX [facing p. 222]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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[Facing P. iii]

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TATIKO, A TARO MAN

See page 49

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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A TARO PARTY EN ROUTE

[facing p.88]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

By Marie Reay

Introduction

"Orokaiva" is a general term denoting people speaking Binandele and related dialects who occupy a large part of the Northern Division of Papua. Orokaiva society was investigated in some detail in the 1920's by the late Dr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist. This article is based upon data furnished in Dr. Williams' published work,[1] supplemented by observations recorded by the author during a brief field period early in 1951 which was interrupted by the eruption of Mt. Lamington. My own observations refer to the Wasida or Jegase Sarahu tribe,[2] whereas some of Dr. Williams' information was gathered from the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes, which are situated in other parts of the Division but nevertheless reveal a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people.

In investigating social control amongst the Orokaiva, three aspects will be examined which would seem to be important in any empirical study of social control. Firstly, there are the ideals people expect one another to try to live up to: the Orokaiva use the convenient term *otohu* to refer to these. Secondly, it is necessary to study education in conformity, which involves a consideration of Orokaiva childhood and an examination of the ritual of initiation from this point of view. Thirdly, there are the actual sanctions operating to encourage conformity with Orokaiva ideals. There will be an attempt, finally, to assess the effectiveness of this system.

(1) Orokaiva Ideals

The Orokaiva term *otohu* is perhaps midway between behaviour which is normally expected and that which is ideally desirable. This term is used in two senses: adjectivally, it indicates that the person so described is well-behaved in certain definite ways and, secondly, it signifies an honorific ornament worn by a large number of people. A man is *otohu* if he is generous and helpful, and is diligent in gardening and hunting[3]; also, the *otohu* man does not quarrel or brawl, he does not steal, nor does he commit adultery. A woman is *otohu* if she listens to her husband and does not speak to him angrily, if she is faithful to him and accompanies him wherever

[1] F. E. Williams, "Plant-Emblems Among the Orokaiva," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LV, 1925; *Orokaiva Magic* (1928); *Orokaiva Society* (1930).

[2] Called the Jegase-Sarau tribe by E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver (*Papuan Annual Report for 1914–15*, pp. 158 ff.).

[3] *I.e.*, if he is able to vary the diet of his household occasionally with food from the bush, and if he works his garden regularly.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organised about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely unverbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,[4] so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) Education in Conformity

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

[4] Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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there would be a violent thunderstorm. From the black clouds would dart vivid flashes of lightning, and there would fall a deluge of rain. Then a furious gale was to arise which would work untold havoc in certain places along the coast. The foundations of the earth would be shaken, and, as a result of the earthquake, an eruption would take place in the middle of the bay between Wagawaga and Gabugabuna, causing a new island to appear above the waves. In consequence a tidal wave would arise and spread further desolation and engender the submergence of all the coasts thereabout for two or three months. Thus destruction would be the lot of the unbeliever, but those would be spared who complied with the behests of the Spirit, as transmitted by the prophet. First and foremost, no man might possess anything introduced by the *dimdim* (white man). He must part with his treasured matchboxes, tomahawks, knives, and other appliances, which rendered life pleasant or reduced toil; for these objects were the symbols of foreign domination, and in the new era old ways would be re-established. There would be a reversion to the stone age, implying the revival of ancient wont and custom and of the religion of their forefathers. New things must pass away, and the golden age of the past must be resuscitated in the present. As an outward and visible sign of the state of grace the faithful were to wear in their armlets a *bisare*, or long narrow ribbon of leaf that almost reached the ground. Finally, they were to burn their houses and take to the highest peaks in the ranges,—for, like the cities of the plain, the old habitations were to be swept out of existence by the catastrophes of nature. As the houses of foreigners are generally built close to the shore, it would seem as though the wheat was to be removed with the tares, since the tidal wave could scarcely be expected to discriminate between the two types of houses. The faithful villagers of Gabugabuna actually left their old village on the shore and built new houses not more than half a mile inland, but on the same level. They were told to go inland. And they did. But it did not occur to these faithful souls, or to their prophet, that the mundane laws of hydrostatics would inevitably cause their new abode to be flooded if the coast were submerged. Such is unreasoning faith. When the catastrophe was past, the wind would change to the south-east, the quarter from which blow refreshing winds during the greater part of the year, and the land would be covered with gardens of yams, taro, and other native food, and the trees would be laden with delicious fruits. The south-east wind would waft a huge vessel into their